NATIONAL GUARDIAN
15 cents
the progressive newsweekly
VOL. 13, NO. 21 NEW YORK, MARCH 6, 1961

BRADEN, WILKINSON LOSE 5 TO 4

Un-Americans win Court test on eve of appropriation vote

By Joanne Grant

THE SUPREME COURT rejected a First Amendment challenge to the House Committee on Un-American Activities Feb. 27 in a 5-to-4 decision upholding contempt - of - court convictions against Frank Wilkinson and Carl Braden. Both must now serve one-year sentences in a Federal penitentiary.

The decision was handed down on the eve of a House vote on the committee's appropriation for the coming year.

Wilkinson is a leader of the Natl. Committee to Abolish HUAC and Braden is a field representative of the Southern Conference Educational Fund. Both were convicted of contempt in a Federal District Court in Atlanta in January, 1959, after refusing on First Amendment grounds to answer committee questions in a 1958 hearing in the South.

STRONG DISSENT: One dissenting opinion, written by Justice Hugo Black and concurred in by Chief Justice Warren and Justice William O. Douglas said:

"The majority by its decision today places the stamp of Constitutional approval upon a practice that is as clearly inconsistent with the Constitution and indeed with every ideal of individual freedom for which this country has so long stood as any that has ever come before this Court." He called the committee's attack on Wilkinson "use of the contempt power of the House of Representatives as a weapon against those who dare to criticize it."

Justice William Brennan's dissent said the committee's purpose was to harass, not a valid legislative purpose.

Wilkinson predicted that "the Court's minority will in due time become the majority" and said: "We will not save free speech if we are not prepared to go to jail in its defense. I am prepared to pay the price." He expressed confidence "that for every voice which asks for abolition of the committee and is silenced in jail, a thousand new voices will be raised."

Braden said: "We are heartened by the fact that four of the Justices of the Supreme Court vigorously dissented. It shows that in the long run we are bound to win. The segregationists cannot win forever."

FOR CURTAILMENT: The drive to abolish the committee reached a new high as its appropriation came up for consideration by Congress March 1.

In budget hearings before the House Administration Committee a week earlier Rep. James Roosevelt (D-Calif.) asked for an 80% reduction in the committee's funds and Rep. William Fitts Ryan (D-N.Y.) called for a reappraisal of the committee's purpose, program and accomplishments.

Both Congressmen said the committee had overstepped its mandate and had failed to fulfill any useful legislative purpose. Roosevelt said: "The twin theme of jurisdictional excess and wasteful duplication runs through a great portion of the Committee's perennial work, and particularly its purported legislative work . . . A very large portion of the Committee's work and expenditures is devoted to justifying its existence."

Ryan said: "It has been reported that in the 23 years of its existence the committee has held only seven hearings on specific legislation. Of the 36,000 bills referred to various committees by the 83rd,

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A DIVIDED COURT GIVES CHAIRMAN WALTER A NEW WEAPON

He can now use the contempt power of the House to jail his critics

Hanley, The Advance, New York

Time to get rid of it

AT AFL-CIO EXECUTIVE COUNCIL MEETING IN BAL HARBOUR

Labor offers flabby program for tough woes

By Robert E. Light

EVERY FEBRUARY AFL-CIO leaders assemble under the sun in one of the nation's resort to bake out the lumbago in labor's joints. The winter meeting of the federation's executive council is designed to take stock of labor's woes and prescribe palliatives if not a cure. But labor's ailments seem to be chronic. Although the union leaders return home somewhat relieved, their pains return with the first cold wind of reality.

For the last three years the council has moved to resolve a series of problems only to find them on the next meeting's agenda. This year's meeting in Bal Harbour, Fla., Feb. 20 to 30 was devoted mostly to the same woes that plagued the council last year and the year before. Some former CIO union chiefs lay the unresolved problems to "flabbiness" in the top leadership. Their gripes remain private in the interest of unity. But others find the ailments contagious. They doubt that the complaining leaders would do better without a hypo from the members back home.

THE 30-HOUR WEEK: Shrinking employment due to automation and mechanization plagues most industrial unions. There are 100,000 fewer steel workers and 35,000 fewer auto workers than in 1957, not including those laid off by the "recession." For many, an answer lies in a shorter work week to share jobs. Many union leaders have endorsed the 30-hour week, including steel, maritime, and packinghouse officials. There is also strong rank-and-file sentiment in the auto union.

But top AFL-CIO leaders, particularly from the craft unions, have been reluctant to endorse the plan. Some believe it is too "unrealistic" a demand for bargaining. They argue that it will have to wait on legislation from a friendly Congress.

When the council met in 1959, there were 4,724,000 unemployed. It laid the blame on an "Eisenhower recession" and it shaped an action program which culminated in a mass conference on unemployment in Washington.

This year there are 5,400,000 jobless by the latest Dept. of Labor count. The council disdained a mass demonstration in favor of regional rallies to support remedial legislation. It also criticized President Kennedy's "anti-recession" program as inadequate. A report by the economic policy committee, headed by Auto Workers president Walter Reuther, warned that unless the economy was stimulated greatly, there would be 8,000,000 unemployed by next year. It called for a "decisive two-year program" to achieve a 15% increase in national production by the end of 1962.

HOUSING INVESTMENT: The council

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SECRECY SHROUDS DEPARTURE FOR SCOTLAND

Polaris sub tender Proteus evades pacifists' vigil

By Jack A. Smith
Special to the Guardian

NEW LONDON, CONN.

THE POLARIS submarine tender **Proteus**, heading toward its new base at Holy Loch, Scotland, left here last week with five minutes to spare. That brief interval represented the distance between the **Proteus** and a makeshift raft manned by a single pacifist paddling wildly to obstruct its passage through the Thames River estuary.

The near miss by the Committee for Nonviolent Action (CNVA) climaxed four days of intense activity in preparation for the departure which saw two of the group running through the streets with the raft on their shoulders, astounding even the most jaded passers-by in this seafaring city.

The **Proteus** will face stronger opposition when it arrives in Scotland later this month. Several groups plan peace marches, demonstrations and civil disobedience to protest stationing the deadly submarines on the peaceful banks of the River Clyde.

SEAGOING VIGIL: Preparations here began Saturday, Feb. 18, at the same time Bertrand Russell was leading a protest sit-down in front of the Defense Ministry in London. The CNVA began a round-the-clock seagoing vigil when it became evident the **Proteus** was about to leave, but even newspapers could not learn when the vessel would sail.

CNVA sent all its available craft into the Thames—a rowboat and a canoe—to keep the tender under watch. Word was flashed to CNVA regional headquarters here whenever activity was noted.

The Navy, after nine months' experience with CNVA in the area and more than a dozen civil disobedience demonstrations, was not taking any chances. To prevent a repetition of previous hu-

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THE MAIL BAG

For Siqueiros

SEBASTOPOL, CALIF.

Allow me to use your worthy newspaper for an expression which touches many artists.

A creative artist contributes to society new ideas and new horizons. Naturally, doing that, the artist has a different point of view from the status quo. Thus he becomes a non-conformist.

And for his non-conformity the artist gets in jail.

That is what happened to the great artist in Mexico, David Alfaro Siqueiros. He is the last of Mexico's three great muralists, surviving Diego Rivera and Clemente Orozco.

Siqueiros is in jail because of his non-conformity, although he brought Mexico fame with his art and fortune through the tourists who came to look at these murals.

How can the powers in Mexico be persuaded that Siqueiros free is of greater value to Mexico and the world of art than Siqueiros jailed?

Bernard Zakheim

Bernard Zakheim is a noted U.S. muralist. This week in Israel, the GUARDIAN learned, 16 prominent intellectuals wrote to President Lopez Mateos of Mexico urging him to free Siqueiros "so as no longer to endanger his health and to restore him to his family and to all those millions the world over who cherish his paintings as joyous inspiration." —Ed.

For unity for peace

NEW YORK, N.Y.

The story about peace activity in the Feb. 27 issue of the GUARDIAN contained a number of omissions which might lead the reader to reach unwarranted conclusions.

For the past year there has grown in the peace movement here a strong conviction that there should be a peace walk at Eastertime, paralleling the Aldermaston march in England. Most peace organizations have talked about or planned something of this nature. The most hopeful expectations were that all groups would join their efforts in a united walk for disarmament and peace.

Discussions were held with the aim of such unity in view. There was general agreement among the participants that there should be a united, non-exclusive and non-discriminatory action to best mobilize the full potential of the peace forces.

Only the New York SANE Council refused to take part in a joint project and decided to hold its "own" walk.

This has led to the disruption of united efforts in the N.Y.C. peace movement, since other groups would not accept SANE's exclusivist policy. In addition to SANE's walk, the AFSC may hold a vigil, and the Committee for Nonviolent Action will hold its own walk. (GUARDIAN readers will note that in Chicago, SANE and the AFSC are planning to walk separately). The outcome is thus fragmentation rather than unity, dissipation of efforts rather than a maximum demonstration for peace.

The 100 Days for Peace committee has viewed this blow to peace activity with dismay and concern. Differences between organzations should never be permitted to interfere with the main job of alerting and arousing the American people to the issues of disarmament, peace and — literally—survival. At its last meeting, our committee decided that it will continue to seek the broadest basis for united action for peace this Easter; and that in any event, it will not cease in its efforts to have a maximum peace demonstration and will participate in the best manner possible.

The 100 Days for Peace Committee will circulate Dr. Pauling's petition and we will concentrate our main efforts in the next months on this project. Petitions can be obtained by writing or phoning our office: 100 Days for Peace, 550 Fifth Ave., PL 7-6454. We are starting a fund to insert the petition with the list of original signers as an advertisement in one of the metropolitan dailies. Contributions will be most welcome.

One correction of fact. The GUARDIAN story said there are 159 American signers to the Pauling petition. There are 305.

Irving Beinin
100 Days for Peace Committee

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

LONDON, Feb. 20 — Field Marshal Viscount Slim, former Governor General of Australia, said today that he was in favor of "keeping Australia white." The Field Marshal, who was addressing members of the Insurance Institute of London, said he knew "dozens of Indians and Pakistanis who are better educated, much cleverer, have a much higher standard of integrity and thousands who are braver than I am." Therefore, he said, he doesn't want any of them to go to Australia and become "second-class citizens." He said he favored the color restrictions because "Australia is the bastion of Western civilization" in the Southern Hemisphere.

—The New York Times, Feb. 21

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: K. B., New York City.

Marian Rubins Davis

RALEIGH, N.C.

Marian Rubins Davis, who died in North Carolina Oct. 28 at 62, had been a devoted worker in the progressive movement for many years. She was raised in Minneapolis. As a Smith College student, she opposed World War I as imperialist. She took graduate work, returned to Smith as a teacher, and married in 1925.

In Pittsburgh (1928-29) she took part in the successful fight to abolish the coal and iron police, and participated in the culminating battle, a free-speech fight at the University of Pittsburgh. In the South the following year she spent a night in jail for trying to organize a meeting in protest against the jailing of union organizers.

In the Depression we spent a year in Brazil, at a tense period when democracy was struggling for recognition. Not long after her return, democracy in Brazil was suppressed in a sudden coup. She helped to organize and to run the Joint Committee for the Defense of the Brazilian People. The Committee sent Rockwell Kent and Jerome Davis to Brazil to demand the release of political prisoners and restoration of democratic rights.

She worked quietly but effectively, on a neighborhood basis, in Maryland, Illinois, Missouri, New York and New England and in the last years of her life in the Carolinas.

She held teaching positions at various periods after her marriage. In 1958 in South Carolina, she was witch-hunted out of her last full-time teaching position. Her expulsion was condemned by the American Association of University Professors. She lived Gandhi's maxim: "Democracy is complete identification with the poorest of mankind."

She was never too busy to share the interests of her five children and of her ten grandchildren, nor to offer hospitality to the numerous workers for progress who came to her door. If every community had four or five such workers as Marian Davis, democracy might be a living, active thing in this country of ours.

Horace B. Davis

Martin, Sunday Express, London

"—the way I see it the next 6,000,000,000,000,000,000 years could be critical."

"Sounds of Protest"

BERKELEY, CALIF.

The best antidote to **Operation Abolition**, the House Un-American Activities Committee's film view of the San Francisco demonstration against its hearings there, is a $2 LP recording called **Sounds of Protest**, assembled from live tapes of the hearings and demonstration. Available from SLATE Record Committee, P.O. Box 893, Berkeley 1, Calif.

Protestant

Salazar

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

Our palsy-walsy Salazar
Has his henchmen near & far:
In Goa in the farthest east,
In Africa his rarest feast!
Yes, diamonds, coffee, sugar, too.
Angolans are the people who
For 9 to 15 cents a day
Produce his wealth without a say
About the rawhide whip, the stave,
That torture the unwilling slave.

Veni Vidi

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

LAST WEEK Negro leaders were rallying to the support of Dr. Du Bois who, with three white associates, goes on trial April 2 for failure to register as a foreign agent because of his work with the former Peace Information Center. The indictment was uniting Negro ranks more firmly than in many a year, without regard for political differences with the great scholar. P. L. Prattis, executive editor of the Pittsburgh **Courier**, one of the nation's most influential newspapers, wrote:

"Dr. Du Bois is no criminal. He is no traitor to his country. Du Bois represents Negro leadership at its best and strongest. This has been true for half a century . . . The handcuffs on Du Bois are meant to serve as a gag on any Negro leadership that is disposed to 'shoot the works' for freedom."

—**From the National Guardian, March 7, 1951**

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

Published weekly by Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc., 197 E. 4th St., N.Y. 9, N.Y. Telephone: ORegon 3-3800

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: U.S.A. Possessions, Canada, $5 a year. Latin America, $6 a year, elsewhere $6.50 a year. First class and airmail rates on request. United Kingdom 35s a year, payable to GUARDIAN London Bureau, 108 Lower Ham Rd., Kingston, Surrey, England. Single copies 15c. Reentered as second class matter Feb. 20, 1953, at the Post Office at New York, N.Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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Vol. 13, No. 21 — 401 — March 6, 1961

REPORT TO READERS

To preserve our nation

THIS SPACE can do no greater service this week, we think, than to excerpt for those to whom these comments may not be otherwise available, the admirable and meaningful dissents in the Supreme Court to the majority decisions of Feb. 27 consigning Carl Braden and Frank Wilkinson to prison for leading the national fight to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The majority opinion of the Court, presented by Justice Potter Stewart, was summed up in this observation on the Wilkinson case:

"We can find nothing to indicate that it was the intent of Congress to immunize from interrogation all those (and there are many) who are opposed to the existence of the Un-American Activities Committee."

JUSTICE HUGO BLACK, speaking for himself, Chief Justice Earl Warren and Justice William O. Douglas on the Wilkinson case, vigorously challenged this view in these words:

"The result of all this is that from now on anyone who takes a public position contrary to that being urged by the House Un-American Activities Committee should realize that he runs the risk of being subpoenaed to appear at a hearing in some far-off place, of being questioned with regard to every minute detail of his past life, of being asked to repeat all the gossip he may have heard about any of his friends and acquaintances, of being accused by the committee of membership in the Communist party, of being held up to the public as a subversive and a traitor, of being jailed for contempt if he refuses to cooperate with the committee in its probe of his mind and associations, and of being branded by his neighbors, employers and erstwhile friends as a menace to society regardless of the outcome of that hearing.

"WITH SUCH A POWERFUL weapon in its hands, it seems quite likely that the committee will weather all criticism, even though justifiable, that may be directed toward it. For there are not many people in our society who will have the courage to speak out against such a formidable opponent.

"If the present trend continues, this already small number will necessarily dwindle as their ranks are thinned by the jails. Government by consent will disappear to be replaced by government by intimidation because some people are afraid that this country cannot survive unless Congress has the power to set aside the freedoms of the First Amendment at will.

"I can only reiterate my firm conviction that these people are tragically wrong. This country was not built by men who were afraid and it cannot be preserved by such men. Our Constitution, in unequivocal terms, gives the right to each of us to say what we think without fear of the power of the Government. That principle has served us so well for so long that I cannot believe it necessary to allow any governmental group to reject it in order to preserve its own existence. Least of all do I believe that such a privilege should be accorded the House Un-American Activities Committee."

ON BRADEN, Justice Black wrote:

"I once more deny, as I have found it repeatedly necessary to do in other cases, that this nation's ability to preserve itself depends upon suppression of the freedoms of religion, speech, press, assembly and petition. But I do believe that the noble-sounding slogan of 'self-preservation' rests upon a premise that can itself destroy any democratic nation by a slow process of eating away at the liberties that are indispensable to its healthy growth. The very foundation of a true democracy and the foundation upon which this nation was built is the fact that government is responsive to the views of the citizens, and no nation can continue to exist on such a foundation unless its citizens are wholly free to speak out fearlessly for or against their officials and their laws. When it begins to send its dissenters, such as Barenblatt, Uphaus, Wilkinson, and now Braden, to jail, the liberties indispensable to its existence must be fast disappearing. If self-preservation is to be the issue that decides these cases, I firmly believe they must be decided the other way. Only by a dedicated preservation of freedoms of the First Amendment can we hope to preserve our nation and its traditional way of life."

JUSTICE DOUGLAS voiced other dissents on legal points and noted, in discussing Wilkinson's case, that if he "can be questioned concerning his opposition to the committee, then I can see no reason why editors are immune. The list of editors will be long . . . "

We of the GUARDIAN welcome the company of a growing group of editors willing to fight repression, and thank the dissenters for stating the case so well.

—THE GUARDIAN

ON THE IDEA OF FREEDOM: A COMMENTARY

Mr. Boland and civilization as we know it

THE UNITED NATIONS contains within its glass walls persons of many political persuasions and religions—Protestant, Moslem, Catholic, Hebrew, Hindu, Buddhist—and persons of no religion at all. It is scrupulously careful, or tries to be, not to offend. When a General Assembly session opens, the delegates rise for a moment of prayer OR meditation. They can communicate in this moment with their Maker or with Marx or with themselves, as they wish.

The President of the current Assembly is an Irishman—Frederick H. Boland—who happens also to be a Catholic. Undoubtedly he was elected to his post by the votes of Christians and non-Christians alike. He has not been especially distinguished during the session except for his occasional schoolmasterish admonitions to speakers like Fidel Castro or Nikita Khrushchev to comport themselves with the decorum that ought, in his view, to attend such an august international forum.

On Feb. 8 the President of the Assembly betook himself to a less august part of town, to the bustling commercial Hotel New Yorker, at 34th Street and Eighth Avenue, to address the 17th annual Archdiocesan Teachers Institute. More than 1,200 teachers from 102 Catholic high schools attended.

HIS TALK SHOWED something less than the decorum he demands at 42d Street and First Avenue. According to the New York **Times**, he urged the teachers to take the offensive against "atheistic communism" and quoted from Friedrich Engels to point up the urgency of his advice. He said that if Christian civilization is to survive it must develop a spirit no less militant than that of the Communists. The most dangerous weakness of Western civilization, he said, "is that we have too many opinions and too few convictions." He went on:

"There are thousands of young intellectuals to whom the idea of freedom means nothing because, having been deprived by their education of any idea of God and having no firm conviction to put in its place, freedom for them simply means existence without purpose and life itself has become flat, stale and unprofitable."

To the best of our knowledge not one newspaper raised an editorial eyebrow even one pica over this partisan bull (the word is used in the papal sense) by this suprashepherd of the interdenominational UN flock. On the contrary, the New York **Daily News**, a newspaper which has for the most part regarded the UN as a den of dialectical materialism, quoted Boland's comments Feb. 10 to the teachers with obvious approval under the heading: "Guest Editorial." It couldn't have said it better itself.

MEANWHILE, BACK AT THE UN, there was another problem—vexing but much more mundane—which concerned some of the delegates. It seems that many of the ambassadors from the new African states simply cannot find a place to live in this God-fearing city. It isn't that there aren't places to be had—at a price, of course—but simply that the real estate people don't like renting to black persons, no matter how Christian they may be.

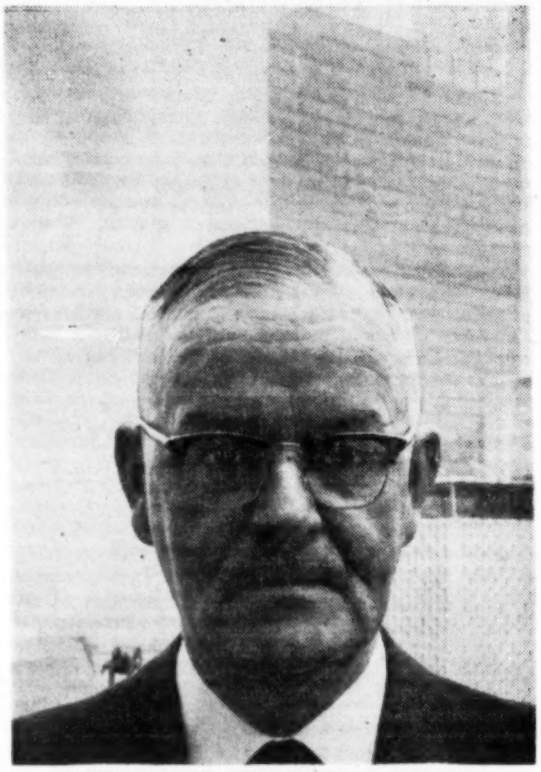
The problem, said the **Times** in an excellent roundup of 2½ columns Feb. 19, has concerned three succeeding American representatives at the UN and anti-discrimination groups in New York. Even letters from Adlai Stevenson appealing to the patriotism of the real estate brokers have little effect. But the effect on the Africans as it relates to their attitude toward Western—and particularly American—civilization is thunderous. Nor was there any indication in the **Times'** story that Ambassador Boland had ever addressed the Real Estate Board of New York on housing, equality or even—if we may be forgiven—Christian civilization.

"I am crushed by your civilization," said one African delegate. And as though that were not devastating enough, the efforts to house Africans have brought to the surface the festering prejudice by the real estate people against American Negroes. A spokesman for the Commission on Intergroup Relations said:

"How ironic. The same people who might take Africans would almost certainly not rent to our own Negroes."

THE IRONY BITES even deeper: There has never been a hint that Negroes—African or American—even if they are Catholic have trouble finding places to live in countries which have been influenced by the teachings of Friedrich Engels.

Now, many of us are indeed concerned with the survival of Western civilization as we know it—or, better still, as we would like to know it. In our naivete we worry about such things as atomic warheads and guided missiles and germ warfare—in addition to housing. But these of course are the tangibles of life, and we are sure that Ambassador Boland and the editors of the New York **Daily News** would chide us for putting these things ahead of the spiritual values they seek with such selfless diligence to instill in us.



AMBASSADOR FREDERICK H. BOLAND
He finds a flaw in Christian civilization

—James Aronson

THEY BELIEVE IN THEIR CAUSE

Jail, not bail, is choice of more than 100 students in Dixie sit-ins

MORE THAN 100 Negro and white students have chosen jail rather than bail since Feb 1. in sit-in demonstrations in three Southern states: Georgia, Virginia and South Carolina.

In Atlanta 75 are in jail on trespassing charges. Demonstrations have been conducted since December when bi-racial negotiations on lunch counter desegregation broke down. Highlight of the two months of demonstrations was a Feb. 1 march by more than 1,000 students and a four-hour demonstration in downtown Atlanta commemorating the first anniversary of the sit-in movement.

Nearly all lunch counters in downtown Atlanta stores have been closed. Lane and Rexall drug stores open lunch counters from time to time, but student demonstrators alerted by picket captains with walkie-talkie radios force them to close, sometimes in a matter of minutes. According to the Atlanta Committee on Appeal for Human Rights, the student-sponsored boycott of downtown stores has caused a 12% decrease in sales.

WHAT THEY BELIEVE: In Rock Hill, S.C., four regional leaders of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee declined to pay $100 trespassing fines and joined nine members of the Congress of Racial Equality already serving 30-day sentences at hard labor in York County. The next day 150 students peacefully demonstrated in front of variety and drug stores. A caravan of six cars and a bus took 300 to visit those jailed.

A total of 13 are now in Rock Hill jails, eight of whom were kept in solitary confinement for three days for refusing to stop singing hymns.

In Sumter, S.C., 300 took part in a march and 65 were jailed for sit-ins in stores and the public library. All were released after paying appeal bonds. The NAACP has urged S.C. Gov. Ernest Hollings to investigate acts of violence against demonstrators, some of whom have been beaten while picketing.

EASTER BOYCOTT: In three days of demonstrations in Louisville, Ky., 85 were jailed. Louisville sit-ins at lunch counters and theater stand-ins were conducted by CORE and the NAACP. A special committee appointed by the mayor met with integration leaders to seek integration of downtown lunch counters. The NAACP has instituted an Easter boycott of Louisville stores.

In Lynchburg four white and two Negro students dropped an appeal of a trespassing conviction in order to go to jail. They were sentenced to 30 days. Shortly after the students entered the jail 70 Negroes and whites held a prayer meeting across the street. Lawyer for the six, Leonard W. Holt, told the meeting: "Let's not let their sacrifice be in vain."

The jailed students said: "We believe if social injustice is to be righted, we who speak against it must be willing to accept personal discomfort and hardship." The six are defendants in a case involving 125 persons challenging Virginia's anti-trespass law before a three-judge Federal court in Richmond.

Arrested but not convicted Feb. 1 were 15 Negro students at Hampton, Va., who sat in at a theater, and nine charged with trespassing at a lunch counter in Orangeburg, S.C.

In dramatic demonstrations Feb. 12 hundreds of Negro and white students staged stand-ins at segregated motion picture theaters. Four Texas cities had the largest demonstrations, and Boston and New York students picketed in supporting demonstrations. The technique of the stand-in is to move up the line to the cashier in integrated pairs. When refused tickets students go to the back of the line and return to the cashier to make repeated requests for tickets.

Long, Minneapolis Tribune
"Night and day . . . you are the only one . . ."

KENNEDY AND RIBICOFF NAMED

Suit hits grants to jimcrow institutions

A SUIT to end payment of Federal grants to educational and other institutions that practice segregation was filed in U.S. District Court in Washington on Feb. 14. The petitioners are six residents of Virginia, including Barbara A. Thomas, 21, now serving a 30-day jail term in Lynchburg for sitting-in at a drugstore. She is a student at Virginia Theological Seminary and College.

Defendants are President John F. Kennedy; Abraham Ribicoff, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare; Douglas C. Dillon, Secretary of the Treasury, and Elizabeth R. Smith, Treasurer of the United States.

The court is asked to enjoin payment of funds to institutions practicing segregation by virtue of statute, ordinance, regulation, custom or usage. It is estimated that thousands of institutions would be affected.

The suit declares that unlawful payments are made in both the North and South, but particularly in the states of Mississippi, Alabama, Virginia, Louisiana, South Carolina, North Carolina, Arkansas, Texas, Florida and Georgia.

MILLIONS INVOLVED: The petitioners point out that the use of Federal funds for this purpose "has been subjected to criticism by the Civil Rights Commission of the United States in its 1960 report."

The plaintiffs estimate that "the value of the rights sought to be enforced by this suit and the value of the property unlawfully confiscated exceeds $40,000,000 annually."

They add: "We say that if Federal subsidy of racial segregation is wrong—and it is—our Constitution makes that wrong enjoinable through use of the courts. The Constitution makes the acts of those persons who dispense Federal funds to support racial segregation unlawful. We do not sue our government; we merely sue those performing the unlawful acts."

Besides Miss Thomas, those filing the suit are Joe Jordan, Ed Dawley, Len Holt, and John Allen Golden Jr., all of Norfolk. All but Golden are attorneys. The suit was entered in their behalf by Henry Halvor Jones, Washington attorney.

THE SIT-DOWN AT LONDON'S MINISTRY OF DEFENSE

2,000 join civil disobedience drive against nuclear arms

By Gordon Schaffer
Guardian staff correspondent

LONDON

THE OLD MAN, bearded and looking pinched and cold as the winter afternoon drew to its close, was sitting with 2,000 others on the sidewalk surrounding the Ministry of Defense within a few hundred yards of the Houses of Parliament. A bumptious young man, handing out leaflets for the League of Empire Loyalists asked him pompously: "What do you think you are going to achieve?" The old man answered quietly: "Gandhi showed us what can be achieved."

That is the kernel of the civil disobedience campaign launched in Britain by this sit-down protest. The Committee of 100, headed by Bertrand Russell, the 88-year-old philosopher and scientist, the Rev. Michael Scott, who has devoted his life to the cause of the African people, Sir Herbert Reid, author and art critic, Hugh MacDiarmid, national poet of Scotland and scores of other leading men and women, has adopted civil disobedience as a weapon to be used as Gandhi used it to win freedom for India.

The sit-down demonstration had two aims: To break through the silence of press, radio and TV on the campaign against nuclear arms, and to show that if enough people are determined to defy authority, police and government are helpless. It succeeded in both.

THE 2,000 demonstrators pledged themselves in advance to carry out instructions, to offer no resistance if arrested and to choose prison if brought to court. The symbolic act of sitting 20 abreast for about 250 yards on the sidewalks was a clear breach of the law. The government, which had been warned in advance of the demonstrators' plans, decided not to accept the challenge. The police had instructions not to interfere.

One incident dramatized the determination of the "squatters." Soon after they had taken their places, half a dozen fire engines arrived. Everybody assumed that fire hoses would be used to clear the streets. As the firemen climbed down, people in the crowd reminded them that their own trade union is in the forefront of the campaign for nuclear disarmament, but no one moved. It turned out afterwards that the League of Empire Loyalists, a near-fascist organization, had turned in a false alarm. But the demonstrators would have

THEY DON'T WANT OUR POLARIS SUBMARINE
The police had instructions not to interfere

remained no matter what measures were used, and if one had been arrested, thousands would have demanded arrest. The courts would have taken months to hear all the cases.

The Committee is now considering other civil disobedience measures. An announcement was made at the 10,000-strong demonstration at Trafalgar Square which preceded the sit-down that an illegal radio station is to operate on the TV wave-length of the BBC.

The support for the sit-down illustrates the willingness of large numbers of British people to go the limit to show their hostility to the nuclear arms policy. The Committee of 100 is not supported by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, nor by any of the political parties. Its plans received very little publicity but the march through London to Trafalgar Square drew tens of thousands of supporters. And as the procession to the Ministry of Defense with Lord Russell at the head passed by the government building where Mr. Macmillan was holding a meeting of Ministers, past the Cenotaph, memorial to the dead of two wars, and on to the Houses of Parliament, the streets were lined with cheering people.

SIMULTANEOUS with the London demonstration, a mile-long march against the Polaris submarine base at Holy Loch was taking place in Glasgow. Hugh MacDiarmid told the GUARDIAN: "On this issue Scotland is more united than ever before in its history. The Labor Party, despite the support given to the Polaris base by Mr. Gaitskell, is unanimously opposed. The Trades Union Congress of Scotland, a large section of the Scottish church, Quakers and other sections of the peace movement, and many other sections of opinion are all together in this. Attempts have been made to get support for the base from people living near it with talk of the dollars the Americans will spend, but they are refusing the bribe. The American people should understand that their men will be hated, not because of any personal hostility, but because their base at Holy Loch is a permanent threat to the existence of our country."

In Glasgow the boilermakers union, the main shipbuilding organization, is discussing strike action against the Polaris. And Welsh miners are discussing what action they can take against the West German troops who are to be brought to Wales.

The strength of these movements can be hidden temporarily by the silence of the press and the alliance between the government and the repudiated right-wing leaders of the Labor Party, but they are breaking through and are bound to grow.

Sub tender sails

(Continued from Page 1)

miliations, including the protest boarding of three Polaris subs and an attempt to chain a raft to the **Proteus** only last month, authorities jammed the Thames with cutters and launches. Their orders were to halt a demonstration.

The rowboat **World Citizen**, owned and operated by Harry Purvis of Northport, L.I., N.Y., made the first move Saturday night. Purvis rowed his craft within the 2,200-foot off-limit area in an effort to catch a better glimpse of the **Proteus**. He was immediately hemmed in by several Navy craft and the boat was confiscated.

DELAYED ALERT: The remaining canoe continued the vigil, surrounded at all times by several Navy launches. When it moved, they moved. The game was continued until Tuesday.

The CNVA usually relies on press reports in planning demonstrations. Occasionally it depends on tips from Navy personnel and workers at the General Dynamics Electric Boat shipyard, where Polaris subs are built. A tip from a worker finally came through at 2 p.m. Tuesday, according to Robert Swann, one of the CNVA leaders. "Our alert system was a bit off," he said. "We didn't know about her departure until she had left the State Pier and was heading our way down the river."

The group had little more than an hour to get a boat in the river to obstruct the **Proteus** before she was gone for good. The canoe still was hemmed in, this time by five Navy launches. Within moments, one of the most unique do-it-yourself projects on record began at the CNVA office. It was decided to build a seaworthy raft in 45 minutes. Arthur Harvey, Raymond, N.H., and Ed Guerard, New York, finished building the four-by-eight-foot craft just on deadline.

MATTER OF MINUTES: With no time to spare, the two lifted the 100-pound raft on their shoulders and ran from the office to the New London City Dock as the **Proteus** came into view. They dumped the untried craft into the chilly waters and Guerard jumped aboard.

He began paddling furiously toward the **Proteus** as she headed downstream. She passed him by when he was only a few minutes from the point of interception. Undaunted, Guerard began following down the river.

The Navy sent out word that he must be stopped at all costs. Several launches finally managed to halt the raft. Guerard jumped into the water and began swimming after the tender, now just a small figure down the river. A Navy frogman plucked him from the water.

YEAR IN JAIL: Two days later, CNVA again made news when one of its volunteers was sentenced at New Haven to one year in jail for boarding a Polaris sub. William Henry, 28, Lodi, Wis., was given the alternative of promising not to commit civil disobedience for one year or being imprisoned for the same length of time. He chose jail.

Henry was one of eight pacifists arrested Nov. 22 for obstructing the launching of the **Patrick Henry** during ceremonies here. Indictments against the others, with the exception of Donald Martin, 20, Wellesley, Mass., have been dropped. Both Henry and Martin were singled out because they participated in the Jan. 28 boarding of another submarine while on parole from the previous charge. Martin's trial is pending.

The **Proteus** escaped but the protest against the Polaris program continues. The CNVA announced it will hold a civil disobedience demonstration March 11 at Portsmouth, N.H., when the **Abraham Lincoln** is commissioned.

WALK FOR PEACE: The demonstration will be the kick-off to a three-week, 340-mile peace walk from Kittery, Me., to the United Nations in New York City. The walk, designed to stimulate regional support for unilateral disarmament, is scheduled to terminate on Easter Day, April 2.

The 340-mile hike is described as CNVA's "little walk." The national group is sponsoring the 6,500-mile San Francisco-to-Moscow Walk for Peace which already has covered 2,000 miles since it began Dec. 1. It currently is located in Kansas and is scheduled to reach New York in June.

Application for the "little walk" may be obtained from CNVA's New London office at 13 North Bank St. Information regarding the Moscow Walk is available from the group's New York headquarters at 158 Grand St.

FOR PROTESTING NUCLEAR SUBS: ONE YEAR IN PRISON
William Henry (r.) has been sentenced in New Haven for nonviolent resistance

William Heikkila's widow denied death benefit

THE SOCIAL SECURITY Administration has denied a $255 lump-sum death benefit to the widow of William Heikkila, San Francisco draftsman who died of a heart attack at his home May 7, 1960. The reason: Heikkila had been "officially" deported to Finland in April, 1958.

Actually, Heikkila was kidnaped by Immigration officers on a San Francisco street and flown to Finland via Canada while the deportation case was still before a Federal judge. The judge ordered his return, which occurred within days of the kidnaping, and Heikkila went back to his job—and paid social security—for two years thereafter. A motion to dismiss the deportation order was before the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals when Heikkila died.

NATIONAL SECURITY SEMINARS

How the brass indoctrinates business for cold war aims

TWO TEAMS of military officers of the Industrial College of the Armed Forces, armed with movie and slide projectors, maps and other visual aids, are touring the country conducting political indoctrination courses for business executives and military reserve officers.

The program, called National Security Seminar, will reach 14 cities this year. Its major aims are to sell the Pentagon's political outlook and convince the business community of the mutual advantages in continuing the Cold War.

The College is charged with continuing analyses of the industrial needs of the military at varying levels of mobilization. The seminar program is justified as "a businessman's briefing on national security." It began in 1948 and more than 200 seminars have been held in more than 100 cities. About 400 persons attend each seminar. Local business groups are co-sponsors in each city.

Peace News, London
"We shall have to take him to see a psychiatrist — he doesn't seem to like normal toys."

BY THE NUMBERS: A seminar runs for two weeks, five days a week. There are 31 lectures by six to ten high ranking Army, Navy, Marine and Air Force officers. Subjects include: "Outer Space," "Public Opinion," "Civil Defense," "U.S. Foreign Policy," "The Middle East," "World Military Forces," "Soviet Communism," "Geopolitics," "Geoeconomics" and "World Human Resources." Each seminar costs the college about $50,000.

The sessions are run GI fashion, "by the numbers." Students are given 300-page manuals, with charts and tables and proper space for taking notes. Each lecture lasts 50 minutes; its end is marked by a loud bell. Half-way through a one-minute break is prescribed for stretching and yawning, during which the lecturer leaves the room.

Three periods are allowed for questions, which must be submitted in writing and signed. Each lecturer is given three minutes to answer. A bell sounds every three minutes. Answers are considered "off the record" because they have not been cleared by higher officers.

A correspondence course, **The Economics of National Security,** is available to business executives, high ranking reserve officers and Federal employes with Civil Service ratings of GS-11 and higher.

THE THEMES: Last year Roscoe Giffin of the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers) attended a seminar in Bethlehem, Pa. Recently he published a paper on his experiences and impressions (5c from AFSC, 160 N. 15th St., Philadelphia 2, Pa.). These are some of the themes Giffin found in the lectures:

- The Soviet-China bloc is our implacable enemy bent on world domination and it is growing rapidly in military-industrial power.
- U.S. "containment" policy has kept the socialist bloc "contained" since 1947.
- U.S. foreign policy has been beyond reproach and is a necessary response to Sino-Soviet aggressiveness. The only American policy open to criticism is the "unilateral disarmament" after World War II. Current deficiencies in national defense are due to skimpy appropriations to the military.
- The Cold War and the arms race must continue because the Soviet-China bloc will not change its policies.
- Disarmament is desirable but impractical. Civil defense and arms control are more important problems.
- Military spending and the Mutual Security program provide important sources of revenue for American business.

Lancaster, London Daily Express
"The Americans being what they are, I wouldn't be a bit surprised if all these new missiles hadn't got built-in anxiety neuroses."

UNWARRANTED INFLUENCE: Giffin concluded: "This program probably achieves the objective of unifying the military and industrial portions of our society through increased acceptance by civilians of the military program and by impressing military personnel with their dependence on the industrial system."

Seminars are scheduled for Yakima, Wash., March 6; Wichita, Kan., April 3; Winston-Salem, N.C., April 10; Wilmington, N.C., May 8; and Newark, N.J., May 8.

Those concerned with former President Eisenhower's farewell warning of the "unwarranted influence" of the military-industrial complex could well ask President Kennedy for an investigation of the seminars. The line drawn by the brass hats between "briefing" and propaganda is invisible.

The new posture

EMF [Electronics & Missiles Facilities, Inc.] is on the threshold of major expansion in both contract revenues and profits. The **new Administration** will no doubt increase spending for the best defense posture. This should definitely increase the number of missile and base projects open for bidding to EMF.

From a Hardy & Co. bulletin (Member N.Y. Stock Exchange)

TRAVEL

The Trip of Your Life!
The National Guardian's
EUROPEAN TOUR
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A SEMINAR IN HONOLULU

The colonels ducked the governor's questions

By John M. Kelly Jr.

HONOLULU

THE NATIONAL SECURITY Seminar here Jan. 9 to 20 was attended by 453 business, professional and military persons. Significantly absent were elected officials and educators.

Gov. William F. Quinn opened the sessions thus: "National defense and human rights are two of the most important principles that must be considered when we discuss national security . . . often there are agonizing conflicts."

After endorsing the seminar for "key civilian leaders," the Governor went on to raise questions which disturb many Americans. "Can we . . . support these fascist and neo-fascist tyrants in the name of freedom?" he asked. "Can we afford to fight fairly in a dirty conflict, and if we do, can we win? . . . Can we . . . say that this precious right [of free speech] is to be a limited right with the limits to be determined by what is said? . . . Can we qualify the protection that this Amendment [the Fifth] affords? . . . Can we ring our enemies with military bases and at the same time plead the cause of world peace?"

Quinn did not attempt to answer these questions—nor did the Seminar faculty.

The main line of the two-week course was provided by Capt. William V. Hughes, USN, who in summing up the subject of Mutual Security, crossed out the word "co-existence" and substituted "co-resistance."

SHELTER PROGRAM: Honolulu businessmen, many in dusted-off reserve officer uniforms, made up more than half the audience. A strong pitch for their support of the foreign aid program was made when Capt. Hughes pointed out that of $70 billion given away in "foreign aid" since World War II, 75% was spent inside the United States.

The audience was urged to build nuclear bomb shelters. But in a discussion period, a question as to how many members of the seven-officer faculty had private bomb shelters was never answered. Col. Slaughter explained: "My next house will be built with an atom bomb shelter—in a couple of years."

Another question was: "How can I keep my fellow citizens from forcing their way into my shelter in an attack when they don't have any?" The answer: "When it gets full you'll have to keep the rest out."

Another asked: "What is the good of fallout shelters if we have to evacuate?" to which the answer was given: "The bomb shelter program is a deterrent."

The lecturers divided the world into contrasting good and bad populations and areas. The "ruthless red bloc dictatorship" was sharply contrasted in word and grade-school picture-graphs with the virtues of "our Free World."

A cartoon presented by Lt. Colonel Paul D. Hickman, reminiscent of the Hearst propaganda cartoons of the 1920's, depicted a numerical division of the world populations. The Sino-Soviet bloc was represented by a grizzly bear, club and shackles held behind its back. With drooling jowls the beast scowled across a see-saw board at the Free World population represented by Uncle Sam, John Bull and a European Continental in top hat and tails.

PERSONAL SACRIFICE: A professional military view of the cold war as a permanent state of tension for the forseeable future was offered. It called for "personal sacrifice" in the regimentation of all natural and human resources, physical and spiritual, to fight the "battle for survival." Negotiation, disarmament and other alternatives to this view of permanent antagonism were not discussed.

Under the heading of Human Resources, the seminar faculty brought out UN figures showing that two-thirds of the world's people live at a bare minimum for existence. More than one billion people probably do not know about Sputnik, said Lt. Col Hickman, in discussing illiteracy. He compared the life expectancy of 35 years in Africa and 32 in India with 72 in the United States. More than one billion people live in malarial areas of the world where 2,500,000 die each year from that disease.

DULLES RECALLED: While the disparity between the U.S. standard of living and those of the world's underdeveloped nations was emphasized, the significance placed on the matter was that of military cold war strategy. Africa spells T-R-O-U-B-L-E, wrote Col. Franklin Paul, USAF, in large letters across a visual aid map of that continent. He complained that the U.S. had to give up "many" military bases in Africa as a result of rising nationalism. "Africa has military, geographic, economic and political resources needed for the Free World," he said.

Washington Daily News
"It's called nuclear warfare—whoever pushes the button first, wins."

The seminar brought to mind the words of the late John Foster Dulles in his book, **War, Peace and Change.** He wrote: "In order to bring a nation to support the burdens incident to maintaining great military establishments, it is necessary to create an emotional state akin to war psychology. There must be portrayal of an external menace."

While civilian America debates the National Purpose, it is clear that Cold War goals are already set in the policies of the Pentagon.

Julian Mayfield's 4-1-7 revived in N.Y. March 4

A TWIN BILL featuring Julian Mayfield's one-act play of life in Harlem, **4-1-7,** and Arthur Vogel's **The Cave** will open March 4 at Theatre of Today, 77 Fifth Ave., New York City. Among the actors are Kenneth Manigault, Gertrude Jeanette and Howard Wierum. The director is Arthur Reel.

Mr. Manigault appeared on Broadway in **Born Yesterday** and played in the London company of **Anna Lucasta.** Recently he played Jesse Semple in the TV Play of the Week. Miss Jeanette played the mother in Maxwell Anderson's musical **Lost in the Stars.** Howard Wierum, stage, screen and TV actor, appeared last season in **The Andersonville Trial.**

AN OLD SCHOOL CHUM IN ROME REVISITED

The long retreat: From fascism to 'liberalism'

By Carl Marzani

WE HAD BEEN school kids together in Rome from the first grade in 1917 to secondary school in 1924. As Catholic Boy Scouts we had fought together against the blackshirted Balillas, the Fascist children's organization, our hiking staves against their oaken nightsticks. Then my father had fled to America and his father had made peace with Mussolini.

We met for a brief period in 1945 when I returned to Rome as an American GI. Now, 15 years later in the fall of 1960, we met once more in Rome.

"Carissimo Carlo," he said with emotion.

"Caro Manlio," and we embraced, not without some Anglo-Saxon reticence on my part.

We looked at each other, our lives shaped by 40 years of tumultuous historical events. At 30 he had been high up in the Fascist hierarchy as National Inspector of Universities; at the same age I served in the wartime Roosevelt Administration as a deputy division chief in the OSS.

When we had met again, in early 1945, the war was still on. Roosevelt was still alive. We had met as grown men on opposite sides of a conflict that seemed settled at that time. We had met as the vanquished and the victor.

HE HAD BEEN fearful then, and in hiding. His wife and child had been placed in a convent, his apartment stripped of furniture and closed down, he himself staying in different places to avoid easy detection. Within three months, as the policies of the British and American military governments unfolded, his fear vanished. He went back to his apartment, his wife and child joined him, his self-confidence returned. About his philosophic outlook he was unrepentant. He said to me then:

"Fascism is not dead. Mussolini was a fool of course, but the discipline of authority is essential in the modern world. It's the only bulwark to Communism."

As I smiled, skeptical and complacent, much too complacent, he had gone on: "You'll come to it in America. You'll see."

Almost, almost he had been right. Then nearly 40, he was a substantial corporation executive in Italy while I sat three years in jail as an underminer of the American Way of Life.

So now we met again in 1960, still held together by the tenacious bonds of our childhood intimacy. I wondered: where does he stand now?

Strangely, he was disinclined to talk politics, a peculiar thing since Italy was in the full swing of the campaign for the November municipal elections. The two major contestants, the Christian Democratic Party and the Communist Party, had blanketed the city walls with posters.

LOUDSPEAKERS BLARED, meetings were held in squares, the newspapers battled unceasingly, but Manlio took me sightseeing in little known corners of Rome. At first I thought he was being courteous to an old school friend but I soon found out that his antiquarian interest in Rome was very deep and very genuine. He walked around with a leather-covered notebook making notes for further research on buildings and customs. It was his main preoccupation outside of business.

"Here," he would say, taking my arm intimately, "is the Street of the Etruscans, goes back to ancient Roman times, they were the jewelers of that period you know, fine artisans in gold and so on. And here is the Church of St. Theodore. You see it was built on a part of an old Roman granary. Now there is an interesting tradition around this church which puzzled me quite a lot, but I think I've found the answer. Wet-nurses come here to pray and make offerings in this church. They also bring sickly babies to be cured. These wet-nurses have done so for centuries and it puzzled me for a long time since St. Theodore has nothing to do with nursing or infants.

"But I think I have the explanation. This is presumably the edge of the marshes at the foot of the Palatine Hill, the place where Romulus and Remus floated onto shore and the wolf suckled them. So the wet-nurses come here, not to the Church, but to the spot on which the church was built a thousand years later. Isn't it interesting? I'm sure I'm right when you think of the tenacity of folk traditions . . . ." And so on, all over Rome.

I enjoyed myself greatly. Though I found myself much more American than Italian, Rome was my native city after all and his stories found strong echoes within me.

THE CITY brought us closer together and then one day, obliquely, we approached politics. Dawdling over coffee after lunch at his home, we were talking about contemporary Italian writing, theater, films and so on. I had remarked that all the best films seemed to be on the Left. Manlio abruptly agreed.

"To understand Italy," he said, "you must know that our government is right-wing clericalism and our culture is completely Left. This is very serious, you know, for culture determines the future of a nation." He had obviously been brooding over this idea, for he spoke with great sharpness. "Culture determines politics too, and the Left has a stranglehold on culture, like this." His fingers clenched in a sudden gesture. "It's why I don't mix in politics any longer. Useless and aggravating. The Left is in control, a terrible conformism has spread through our culture."

"You mean all artists are on the Left?"

"I mean the artist who doesn't conform to the Left isn't heard. That this should happen in Italy." He shook his head. "Artists are humanists but how can they develop? They can't get an audience unless they are Left."

"But surely," I remonstrated, "there are right-wing papers, magazines . . . ."

He waved his hand, brushing my words aside.

"Nothing that counts intellectually. All the important publishing houses and reviews are staffed with Left people, Communists, neo-Communists, crypto-Communists, fellow travelers. They control everything."

"But, Manlio, this doesn't make sense . . ." I searched for words to express my reactions and thought of an analogy. "Let me give you our situation in America, which is exactly the reverse of what you say about Italy. In America there is a conformity of the Right, or more precisely, a conformity against the Left. We have fine artists in America who are on the Left, screen-writers, novelists, painters and so on. They can't get an audience because they don't get published. Now I should think the Right in Italy whould have no problem with money at all. I'm sure, for example, that the corporations or the Vatican would make money available for a good right-wing publishing house or a good right-wing review . . . ."

MUSSOLINI IS A BARGAIN IN ROME TODAY
The sign on the bust means the price is right

"YOU DON'T UNDERSTAND," he said and rose. He went to a bookcase and picked out several copies of a magazine. "Here," he said. "I tried to start a literary magazine. Let me show you the editorial board." He opened one copy to the title page and ran down a list of five names. His was at the top. "See these names? Three of them are left-wingers. We couldn't even have an independent magazine without left-wingers."

"But why not?"

"Because people wouldn't write for us."

"But then you defeat your argument. In America we have writers who want to write on the Left and can't get stuff published, but you tell me that you don't have enough writers who want to write on the Right."

"No, no, you don't understand. Writers don't want to write for a right-wing magazine because they are afraid if they do the Left won't publish them. It's the conformism on the Left which holds everybody down."

But Manlio had lost me. He didn't convince me in the least. Either there weren't any good right-wing writers or people wouldn't buy their product. Whether he was right about the dearth of right-wing writing I didn't know, and in a way, it was irrelevant. What was relevant was what had happened to Manlio. The zest for politics had gone out of him; he clearly felt defeated and had retreated to his Roman antiquarianism as a form of escape from a society where his ideas were no longer welcomed.

"I hate conformism of any kind," said Manlio and I couldn't resist a quiet dig.

"What about Fascist conformism?" I asked.

"Bah," he said, "you are all the same. Forgive me," he said more gently, "but you are like all Americans in this respect. Everything so black and white. Fascism was not conformism. All kinds of people were Fascists. It was just, what shall I say, it was like air, like you breathe air, so you were a Fascist. It was the natural way in those days."

I ALMOST ARGUED. I almost reminded him of the prison camps and the executions and the exiles. I almost reminded him of himself in 1945 telling me that Fascism was a necessity in modern industrial society. He didn't think of Fascism as "airy" at that time; he thought of it as it was, the authoritarian imposition of the rule of employers on industrial workers. But I kept quiet. Why break up an old childhood relationship which in its day had been very dear to me? What was the use? Besides . . .

Besides he was a defeated man. He might be dangerous again as an individual but it was up to the Italian people to take care of him in that case. His ideology was through, at least in Italy.

I let the conversation die down but one little point kept nagging.

"Tell me," I said without a trace of hostility, "I don't want to pry, but . . . what would you call yourself?"

He looked at me in complete and honest surprise.

"Why, you can see for yourself, quite clearly. I'm a liberal, of course, an English liberal."

THE EYES HAD IT IN ITALY'S LAST ELECTION CAMPAIGN
This Communist Party poster urged voters: "Keep your eyes open"

HUMAN BLIGHT IN THE BITUMINOUS AREAS

Push buttons replace miners in soft-coal fields

By John Fellows

AUTOMATION and its handmaiden, massive unemployment, stalk the country's soft-coal producing areas hand in hand.

More than a half million bituminous miners lost their jobs during the past two decades. Thousands of once-flourishing mine communities have been laid prostrate in the mining states of Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Kentucky, Ohio and Illinois which taken together account for four-fifths of the national soft-coal supply.

The industry produced 564,157,000 tons and engaged 703,000 mine workers in 1923. Employment took a serious drop in 1957 when 492,703,916 tons wer. produced by 228,635 mine workers. This decline has continued. Last year the industry produced 400,000,000 tons while employment fell to 157,000.

PUSH-BUTTON HUNGER: The technological thrust of mid-century progress has been embodied in the push-button mine set amid ramshackle settlements tenanted by jobless miners and their hungry families who look to Washington for hopes of work and bread.

Giant power shovels that extract 105 tons at a bite perform stupendous feats of productivity before the wondering gaze of miners' half-starved kids whose one substantial meal during the day is supplied by the local school house kitchen. The home larders have a way of being empty nowadays.

An increasing percentage of the populations of Pennsylvania, West Virginia and Kentucky depend on government surplus foods for survival.

"In West Virginia in October 281,000 people out of a total population of 1,800,000 depended upon surplus food in order to sustain life," wrote Sen. Paul H. Douglas (D-Ill.) in his Task Force Report on the Chronically Distressed Areas prepared for President Kennedy.

In West Virginia, which together with Pennsylvania produces half the nation's bituminous fuel, the output in 1947 was 173,663,816 tons with 116,421 men employed. Last year its pits produced 119,453,421 tons. Employment dipped to 43,922, a drop during the period of 73,489 jobs.

VANISHING MARKET: Like the anthracite, bituminous coal has been faced with a struggle to hold its markets against the rivalry of oil and gas. It accounted for 95% of the country's supply of power fuel at the beginning of the century. Its share in this market has dropped to 35% at present.

Efforts to stage a comeback have involved coal producers in elaborate modernization programs.

The Pittston Coal Co. recently spent $30,000,000 to develop a factory-type operation at its Moss No. 3 mine in Southwestern Virginia. This wonder plant will clean, dry and size 25,000 tons of coal a day with automatic push-button controls.

The Peabody Coal Co. whose mine and surface stripping operations extend over wide areas of the Midwest has announced huge investments in mechanization schemes.

These technological advances have been steadily encouraged by the mineworkers' union which has joined with the operators in the campaign to salvage foundering coal markets.

DUBIOUS RECORD: The result has been that the American miner has become the biggest coal producer in the world. Per man-day output of soft coal was 2.56 tons in 1890. It rose to 5.06 tons in 1930, 6.77 tons in 1950, 10.59 tons in 1957 and is estimated at 13 tons at present. The best European record is two tons per man-day.

Plans are under way to gasify coal and to pipe finely ground steam sizes in semi-liquid form to points of consumption in a manner similar to oil.

New energy plants are urged to locate in the coal fields close to sources of fuel supply.

Intensified chemical research is expected to turn up new uses for the gas-rich bituminous product.

The United Mine Workers of America, the miner's union, maintains its own bureau of research and marketing to assist in this gathering offensive.

THE CASUALTIES: No comparable measures have been taken to forestall the suffering of the human casualties of this technological revolution. Jobless miners subsist on a hand-to-mouth basis. Automation has failed to modify the grimly conclusive reality of hunger in this age of product superfluity. Technological experts have found no answer to the problems of communities made destitute by the job-annihilating sweep of automation.

The United Mine Workers has shared in this utter bankruptcy of social thinking. Its former president John L. Lewis predicted in 1925 that the industry was due for painful readjustment. "When it is complete there will be fewer mines and fewer miners and it will be a prosperous industry," he said.

Although foreseen then as a period that would create considerable unemployment and havoc among its membership, the union failed to devise plans or controls that would alleviate the blows of the current readjustment. As a result the union itself has lost far more members during the past two decades than it presently retains on its membership rosters.

THE CHANGES: Mechanization of the mines was encouraged by the union as a measure that would enable the unionized segments of the coal industry to compete successfully against the then non-unionized areas. Today the entire industry has been brought within the union fold. This has not solved the major problems that beset the industry itself. Not only have gas and oil invaded former soft coal markets but technological changes have made their impact as well.

The replacement of coal-fired steam locomotives by oil-fueled Diesels on the railroad systems cost the industry a loss of orders for 100,000,000 tons of coal annually.

Residual oil imports are blamed for an annual loss in markets for another 25,000,000 tons and 10,000 mining jobs.

Canadian natural gas piped to industrial areas in the Upper Great Lakes Region have made deep inroads in former coal-using territories.

Generous depletion tax allowances of 25.5% to the oil and gas interests as against 10% to the coal industry has been another factor seen as hamstringing coal's competitive position.

Industrial leaders look forward to increasing automation and to intensified chemical, engineering and marketing research as measures designed to reverse the downtrend. A major demand is for a National Fuels Policy to allocate definite market areas to each of the competing fuels. This proposal is bitterly resisted by the oil and gas interests.

LITTLE PROTECTION: For the workless miners the prospect is admittedly bleak. Asked how the miners felt about losing their jobs through mechanization, Lewis said in an interview last year:

"They understand the need for it. It has not been a social revolution of any magnitude. When men are laid off the men in the younger age brackets move into other industries.

"Some of the older men stay in the areas and manage to get along with the help of relatives. Or they find other employment. There is public assistance and Social Security assistance in some cases. Pensions from the welfare fund help those who are over 60 years of age. There is a natural attrition of man power, too."

Mr. Lewis is presently retired at an annual pension of $50,000.

The union's old-age pension recently was cut from $100 a month to $75 as a result of a drop in operators' contributions to the union welfare fund. Operators pay 40c into the fund for every ton of coal mined. Federal old-age assistance is not available until age 65.

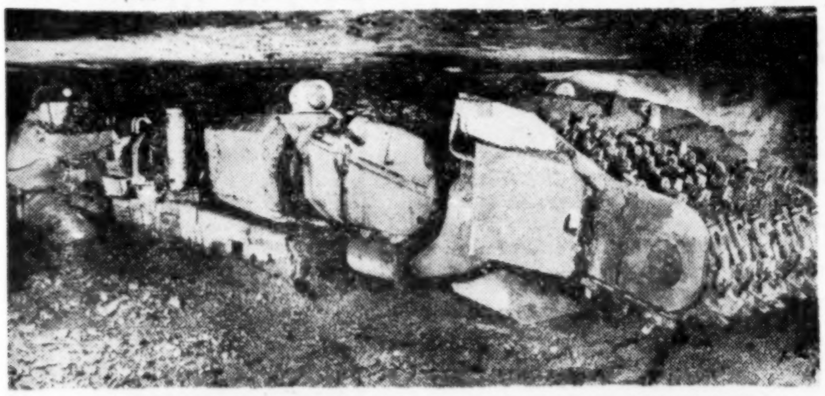
The miners' union is pressing for Federal measures to extend jobless benefit payments for the entire duration of unemployment at three-quarters of the claimant's former wage. In view of the growing recession and the continuing spread of automation it is likely that other labor organizations will join in this demand.

FUTURE IN DOUBT: Meanwhile, the idled bituminous miners exist in a state of quiet desperation. Without an organization to voice their needs or to remind legislators of their existence, they are the abandoned people of an industry that no longer requires their services.

The miners who still have jobs no longer experience the freedoms of former days when a man was as good as his skills. For the mines have gradually been converted into coal factories with work performed under close supervision and clocked from bell to bell.

The old miners' pride has gone along with their craft. The herald of the new day in bituminous is the push-button factory-ized mine nested among hungry populations of jobless miners wondering what the future may hold for them—if there is a future.

STRIP MINING DESTROYS JOBS AND DEVASTATES THE LAND AS IN THIS PENNSYLVANIA OPERATION
Giant power shovels scoop up more than 100 tons in a single bite while displaced miners' kids go hungry



THIS MECHANICAL MINER CUTS, DRILLS, BLASTS AND LOADS
Each 25-foot machine can dig up to two tons of coal a minute

AFL-CIO meeting

(Continued from Page 1)

urged a temporary cut of $5 billion in withholding taxes to increase consumer spending when unemployment reached 7%. In January the unemployment rate was 6.6%. It also criticized the President's proposed tax incentives to business.

For its part in stimulating the economy, the council urged unions to invest $1 billion in government-guaranteed mortgages to help the construction of small homes and middle-income housing projects. The council insisted that the money go only to projects that would be open on a non-segregated basis and only to those built by union labor.

Some saw the council's criticism of Kennedy's program as a device to counterbalance attacks on the Administration from business groups. They thought the union leaders would be satisfied with the Administration program. A. H. Raskin reported in the New York **Times** Feb. 26: "They felt the best way to keep the right-wing resistance [in Congress] from scutting the program is by clamoring for much more and thus enabling the President to pose as a middle of the roader."

MEMBERSHIP DOWN: When the AFL and CIO merged in 1955 it had a combined membership of about 15,000,000. Two years later the federation expelled the 1,500,000-member Teamsters and two small unions. Automation and failure to organize new workers have accounted for further attrition. The work force is also increasing each year. AFL-CIO president George Meany acknowledged at the meeting that current membership is 12,500,000. Of this about 700,000 are in Canada.

Part of the organizing failure has been due to jurisdictional disputes between craft and industrial unions. A no-raiding provision in the merged federation's constitution was implemented in 1958 by an agreement to submit jurisdiction disputes to an impartial referee. The plan broke down because many unions ignored the referee's rulings, knowing that the council was not likely to expel them. Last year a plan for compulsory arbitration was defeated by unions in the Building and Construction Trades Dept.

Organizers of the AFL-CIO staff were prevented from helping a member union to organize a plant if another union also claimed jurisdiction. In many cases those claiming jurisdiction never moved to organize. This year the council took the shackles off its organizers. It instructed the staff to enourage unions to join in a "cooperative and coordinated effort to organize." Jurisdictional disputes could be appealed to John W. Livingston, the AFL-CIO director of organization.

AN AFL-CIO LESSON: HOW TO BUY RESPECTABILITY

AFL-CIO president George Meany (c.) and vice president Walter Reuther (r.) pledged $1,000,000 to retired Gen. Omar Bradley for the Eleanor Roosevelt Cancer Foundation. Four days later Meany announced that the organizing drive of California agricultural workers was being cut back because an expenditure of $340,000 had only signed up 9,500 farm workers.

JIMCROW ISSUE: Some were skeptical that the new plan would add members. They foresaw bitter inter-union fights. Some believed that a quick way to increase members was to readmit the Teamsters, which had increased its membership by 200,000 since it was expelled. The Wisconsin AFL-CIO sent a resolution for readmission to the council. But Meany ruled out the Teamsters as long as James R. Hoffa was its president.

Jimcrow has yet to be expelled from the House of Labor. A constitutional color bar remains only in the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers. But jimcrow locals, discrimination in apprentice programs and in jobs continue in many unions.

The issue has led to a personal feud between Meany and A Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. When Randolph urged the council to move against jimcrow in 1959, Meany said: "The general policy of the federation is to discourage segregation. But we can't crack heads together."

Randolph's proposals to end discrimination at the AFL-CIO convention in September, 1959, set off Meany. He asked Randolph: "Who the hell appointed you spokesman for all the Negroes?" If there was any doubt of his credentials, the Negro American Labor Council was formed last May with Randolph as president.

Meany also had to answer to others on discrimination in labor. When he learned last year that Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D-N.Y.) was to become chairman of the House Labor Committee, Meany said that he felt "terrible" because Powell stirred up race hatred. With ample funds, Powell is reported to be planning an investigation of jimcrow in the AFL-CIO. He has already announced hearings on alleged misuse of union welfare and pension funds.

If the AFL-CIO brass could not placate Powell, they at least hoped to head off an investigation of abuses in the construction of missile bases by Sen. John L. McClellan's rackets committee. The building trades department adopted a voluntary no-strike policy for missile sites. But the New York **Times** reported that McClellan believes "more fundamental correctives" are needed.

COLD WAR UNITY: A brief respite from squabbles at council meetings traditionally comes when foreign policy matters are discussed. There is rarely dissent on resolutions supporting the Cold War. This year the council condemned as "not objective" a report by the UN's Intl. Labor Office on unions in the U.S.S.R. The council was riled because the report said that Soviet unions enjoy "considerable power and influence" and that the "freedom" of unions in the U.S.S.R. cannot be judged by the same standards applied to unions in capitalist countries.

Center of this year's attack was Cuba. The council called for increased Federal aid to Cuban refugees. It donated $10,000 to help the cause. The AFL-CIO opened a Cuban Refugee Emergency Center in Miami months ago.

A Caribbean federation of all seamen and dock workers in the West Indies and Gulf of Mexico was proposed by the Maritime Trades Dept. One of the first projects of the federation would be an economic blockade of Cuba. Failing the organization of the federation, a resolution called on all U.S. unions to refuse to man, load or unload vessels carrying cargo to Cuba. The maritime unions also proposed to picket railroads to prevent trans-shipment of goods by non-union car ferry in Florida. Sealed box cars from Canada are also to be picketed.

WITHOUT A RUDDER: The council condemned the "brutal murder of Patrice Lumumba" and called for the withdrawal from the Congo of Belgium, the U.S.S.R. and "any other country that would attempt to exploit the confusion and chaos." But it expressed "wholehearted support" for UN secy. gen. Dag Hammarskjold.

If AFL-CIO council resolutions were food and the paper they are printed on money, the American workingman would never again go hungry nor worry about a job. But labor's mimeograph machine can't overcome the "recession" or solve labor's other problems, unless it is cranked by stronger arms than those that now turn out AFL-CIO policy.

Raskin summed up in the **Times**: "To most observers the federation gives a dismaying impression of drifting rudderless through its sea of troubles."

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Maritime Worker, Australia

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N.Y. Polonia Club bazaar during March 10 week end

A POLISH BAZAAR will be held Friday, Saturday and Sunday, March 10, 11 and 12, at Polonia Club, 201 Second Ave., near 12th St., New York City, for the benefit of the Polish American labor weekly, **Glos Ludowy.** Polish artcraft, leather goods, glassware, jewelry and books will be on display. Polish meals will be served. The doors will open Friday at 7 p.m., and at 1 p.m. Saturday and Sunday.

World Council of Peace to meet

AT ITS LAST MEETING the Presidential Committee of the World Council of Peace decided to call a session of the World Council early in 1961. This session will be held in New Delhi from March 24 to 28.

The session will review the work of the World Peace Movement since the tenth anniversary session of the World Council, held in Stockholm in May, 1959, and will set out the tasks before the movement in the light of the international situation and of the grave problems besetting all peace workers.

The subjects to be discussed at the session will include general and complete disarmament, peaceful coexistence, the ending of colonialism, national independence and sovereignty, and settlement of the burning issues directly connected with these, such as the situation in the Congo, Laos, Algeria and Cuba.

The World Council meeting will also examine ways of achieving the most extensive possible cooperation between all bodies working for peace, so as to attain the above goals.

J. D. Bernal
Chairman, Presidential Committee
World Council of Peace

January 31, 1961.

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BOOKS

A British playwright with something to say

IT'S NOT NEWS anymore that a group of new playwrights have changed the tone and content of English drama in the last few years. Encouraged by Joan Littlewood and George Devine, at their off-West End theaters, they've had the kind of effect that, say, Dreiser had on the American novel early this century. The work of Osborne, Delaney and Behan has reached Broadway, and in recent days it has been announced that **Roots,** one of Arnold Wesker's trilogy, will be done in a small house on Broadway on an off-Broadway basis. This means the audience pays a lot, and the actors get paid little. Random House has just published the trilogy for $4.50. You can't even **read** a play for a reasonable price these days, but Wesker is one of the few who is worth it.

Of the playwrights mentioned, Wesker is the most political, and since one could almost say that Wesker's plays demand of their audience that they be compassionately involved in the politics of socialism, it's understandable that they are not being done in a large Broadway house. Or that of his trilogy **Roots** should be the one chosen. The other two are the story of a Jewish working class family who live out their lives in terms of the political events of the Thirties, the war, and the cold-war period—not with these events as a backdrop, as Osborne presents his characters, but as participants.

THEY BEGIN as Communists and change as the political life of their country changes. The remarkable thing is how close they come to their numerically smaller counterpart in the United States in the ways they search ideologically and humanly for a good life for themselves and for humanity. They bear the terrible defeats that we know the Left in England and the United States has suffered: The first scene, 1936, finds them and their comrades rushing out into the streets to stop the Mosley fascists from marching through their working class district; the last, 1959, helping two frustrated utopians, who failed in their attempt to escape industrialism, to return to London at the time of the last parliamentary defeat of the Labor Party.

Wesker has no directives for his characters at the end of the trilogy; one only feels how strongly he believes that life will bring them through; and that his characters, embroiled so thoroughly in the political life of their country, will not cease to struggle.

SANDWICHED between these two plays is **Roots,** one which at first does not appear to be rightfully a part of the trilogy, for although it is socially conscious and contains political comment, politics is not at its center. **Roots** is a portrait of a non-political, country-folk family, a laconic, tradition-bound group seeming to live apart from the world. Their only connection with the intense, political Jewish workers of the other plays is through a daughter who has been having an affair with the writer-son of the Jewish family. No one, however, who is not of their world ever enters the stage.

The daughter is home on a vacation and is expecting her boy friend to come on a visit to meet her family. Instead, she gets a letter breaking off the relationship because, he says, they have so little in common. Yet the whole play has been a display of how her life and values have been changed by him, and the absent boy friend becomes a force in the family. As she urges her family to shed their pettiness and indifference, his ideas come to life in her and help make her a new person. Wesker's achievement is really marvelous in this denouement, for one believes that the socialist views of the romantic artist come to a more real and purposeful life in the girl. Although its right to a place in the trilogy is never completely established, there's this to be said for **Roots:** The political years the trilogy spans would have been incomplete without some portrait of how the lowly and the non-political slough off their dead lives and arrive on the scene.

ONE OF THE criticisms one could make of these plays is

ARNOLD WESKER
Politics in the theater

that the characters are stronger than the author. He cannot entirely control or fully explore them, but he has brought them before us with all their passions in the context which—let us say unequivocally—is the most important and revealing for literature: politics. They are for this reason more alive than characters in plays whose concerns are presumably more human. Ironically, Wesker at the moment has this old lesson to teach American playwrights like Odets, Hellman, Miller, who are more than superficially his predecessors in the field.

An interesting note on American publishing: In the Penguin paperback edition in which **Chicken Soup With Barley,** the first of the trilogy, appeared, there was a short, but strong, admonishment that no anti-socialist meaning be injected into the production of the play. The Random House edition carries only a warning that the characters not be turned into caricatures. We're becoming genteel about socialist politics; we need some American Weskers, Behans and Osbornes.

—**Felix Gutierrez**

**THE WESKER TRILOGY: Chicken Soup With Barley, Roots, Jerusalem, by Arnold Wesker. Random House, 225 pp. $4.50.*

A STORY OF EXPLOITATION

Canada's beginnings

"THE FRENCH fur-lords built their power in North America on the backs of the native peoples." A brisk trade of beads for beaver robes returned fantastic profits to European merchants while the independence, nobility and health of the native Canadian Indians was encouraged to rot.

These were the beginnings of Canadian "civilzation," described in **The Founding of Canada** by Stanley B. Ryerson.* He writes not as a hard-boiled cynic but as a Marxist historian who does not mind choosing sides in the struggles of exploiter and exploited, which are the essence and substance of early Canadian history. He has reconstructed the origins of Canada in a book which knits together the background of a nation in a cohesive, cause-and-effect fashion.

The early history of Canada is a story of exploitation. The European trader lived off the Indian; the feudal landholder lived off the peasant; the European colonizer lived off the settler. Mr. Ryerson, in tracing the birth of Canada from pre-history to 1815, describes the beginnings of home-grown capitalism and how the stage was set for the exploitation of labor in the Nineteenth and Twentieth centuries.

THE GREAT northland of this continent tempted the merchants of Europe not through gold or spices or slaves—but furs. The beaver, one of Canada's national emblems, was the basis for the development of a white civilization in the North. "The main labor force for the trade in furs was made up of thousands of Indians who hunted and trapped, prepared the pelts and carried them hundreds of miles to the trading posts . . . The European traders not only took advantage of the Indian's poverty; in order to reduce those with whom they traded to even greater dependency, they fomented fratricidal wars among the tribes."

Settlement followed trade. France's feudal economy was transplanted to Quebec. "From the outset the ruling powers in the colony were the feudal-mercantile companies and the Catholic Church. Very soon the settlers were in conflict with them both."

Two wars helped develop the character and economy of Canada. The American War for Independence (and the French Revolution) instilled in Canadians their first strong anti-colonial sentiments—that were to erupt in rebellions in the mid-Nineteenth Century. The second war began in 1812. In the United States "the winning of independence was followed by a turn toward aggressive expansionism. Thus the patriots of '76 gave way to the 'War Hawks' of 1810." The subsequent War of 1812 ended in a draw between the American and British, but the war, thrust on Canadians from without, fused a national consciousness. "Its outcome affirmed the seperate identity of Canada." It also encouraged the development of a class of Canadian capitalists.

Mr. Ryerson is at present preparing a sequel history, covering the period 1815 to 1871.

—**William Deverell**

**THE FOUNDING OF CANADA, by Stanley B. Ryerson. Progress Books, Toronto. 340 pp. Cloth, $5. Paper $3.*

RESORTS

THOUGHT FOR TODAY

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LOS ANGELES

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Dr. Rubinstein, noted writer, lecturer and literary critic, has just returned from an extensive tour through the U.S.S.R., Poland, Czechoslovakia, and East Germany, where she lectured at many universities on cultural subjects.

John Howard Lawson, chairman

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Un-Americans win

(Continued from Page 1)

84th and 85th Congresses, only ten were sent to the committee. These ten bills died without hearings." Both Ryan and Roosevelt pointed out that during the 86th Congress only 11 bills out of 12,000 were referred to the committee, representing nine-tenths of one percent of that Congress' total legislative work.

A BIG NET: "Through its hearings the committee has cast an ever-widening net, catching in it ex-Communists doing public penance, pro-Communists who do not reveal any information, and anti-Communists 'exposed' because they happen to dislike the committee's method of operation or disagree with its assessment of the internal Communist menace," Ryan said.

The appearance of Roosevelt and Ryan before the Administration Committee was the first time a formal protest against the committee had been made by Congressmen.

Roosevelt reported on an NBC-TV program Feb. 25 that several Nays were audible when the $331,000 appropriation was reported out of committee by favorable voice vote. Roosevelt said that when a sufficient number of constituents let Congressmen know that they oppose the committee, members of Congress will dare to vote to abolish it.

The committee's methods have become a national issue with distribution of "Operation Abolition," the committee's film version of the San Francisco student demonstrations against it last May. Showings of the distorted film by civic groups, churches, corporations, the American Legion, business groups and on college campuses has caused controversy in many cities. Purchase of several prints by the Defense Dept. has been criticized by several newspapers; columnist Marquis Childs pointed out that the Defense Dept. general counsel in a report on the film said that the committee "seemed to have encouraged the riots with the apparent end of showing how grave the opposition to the committee hearings was."

CHURCHES ACT: On Feb. 24 the General Board of the Natl. Council of

CARL BRADEN
Integration is subversive

Churches adopted a resolution advising its members "not to exhibit the film . . . in churches unless a full and fair presentation of such facts as are available is provided beforehand."

The Council said that answers are required on the following points:

- What evidence is there linking Communists and alleged Communists mentioned in the film to students leading or taking part in the demonstration?
- What violence occurred and who was responsible?
- The degree of responsibility of students, police, Communists and the committee in causing the incidents.
- The legal status of the subpenaed film.
- Whether there are errors of fact and interpretation in the film.
- The responsibility of the committee and the House of Representatives for the film and the charges made in it against students and other citizens.

FRANK WILKINSON
Prepared to pay the price

The board of directors of the Northern California-Nevada Council of Churches with about 1,600 congregations passed a resolution Feb. 3 cautioning members about the film.

CITIZENS PETITION: On Feb. 18, 37 prominent Bay Area civic leaders petitioned the government to stop purchasing or showing the film. Signers included the Mayor of Los Altos, an NAACP leader, a Central Labor Council spokesmen and a committee chairman of the State Consumer Council.

The central committee of the county Democratic organization of Santa Clara, Calif., said the film is "distorted" and that FBI and San Francisco police versions of the cause of the riots are untrue. Its report listed "flagrant distortions" in the film and called for a "truth squad" to set the record straight. The report said: "The film has been successful in suppressing free discussion and intimidating those opposed to the practices of the committee." The report said that Lockheed in Sunnyvale, Calif., had incorporated the film into its training program and that it plans to show the film to its 19,000 employes on company time.

Wisconsin's Gov. Gaylord Nelson received support in his call for abolition of the committee from three daily newspapers and from 65 educators who sent petitions to Rep. Reuss (D-Wis.) and to the governor. On Feb. 15 the executive board of the Milwaukee county Democratic organization announced its support of Gov. Nelson's abolition stand.

THE SUPPORTERS: Support for the committee comes from organizations like the Allen-Bradley Co., which runs advertisements in national magazines in support of "Americanism" and distributes "Operation Abolition." The company and its president, Fred F. Loock, were criticized by the Milwaukee Democratic County chairman, Howard J. Meister. Loock was one of the electrical executives convicted in the recent bid-rigging and price-fixing prosecution. He was fined $7,500, but was not imprisoned because of ill health. Meister said: "This is the same man who tells us how to run our country, how to handle communism."

The newly-organized conservative youth group, Young Americans for Freedom, will present one of its first annual awards for contribution to American conservatism on March 3 to committee chairman Francis E. Walter. Others to receive awards at the conservative rally to be held at New York's Manhattan Center are William F. Buckley, editor, **National Review**; Lewis L. Strauss, former Atomic Energy Commission chairman; George Sokolsky and Herbert V. Kohler of the union-busting Kohler Co. Sen. Barry Goldwater will be the featured speaker. Youth to Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee and other youth groups will picket the rally in protest against the Walter award beginning at 7 p.m.

DR. KAUL GOES TO ISRAEL

East German victims of Eichmann seek representation at his trial

By Edith Anderson
Guardian staff correspondent

BERLIN

THE CONTRASTING political philosophies of the two Germanys will be dramatically reflected at the Eichmann trial in Israel next month when Eichmann is defended by a West German, and a group of his victims will be represented by an East German lawyer.

The West German, Dr. Robert Servatius, has already consulted with the defendant in Israel. His opposite number, Dr. F. K. Kaul, left for Israel on Feb. 15. He hopes to represent Jewish citizens of the German Democratic Republic who were imprisoned or lost their nearest relatives in the Eichmann extermination camps. [On Feb. 22 the Israeli Justice Ministry, according to the New York **Times**, informed Dr. Kaul that Israeli law forbade his becoming associated with the Eichmann prosecution.]

Dr. Kaul is the GDR's crack international lawyer whose reputation has been won largely in West German courts where he spends about half his time defending anti-fascist individuals and organizations. At the moment he is fighting efforts to disbar him there.

UNPOPULAR CAUSES: He has long been an irritant to the Nazi-infiltrated West German judiciary. He fought the ban on the West German Communist Party and

on such organizations as the Free German Youth and the Democratic Union of German Women. With D. N. Pritt, famed British lawyer, he defended Lilly Wachter before an American military tribunal after she had made speeches accusing the U.S. government of committing atrocities in Korea. She had been a member of the 22-woman international investigating commission that visited Korea in 1951 and published the pamphlet, **We Accuse.**

It is not too surprising that Dr. Kaul lost these cases in a part of Germany where 355 Nazi war judges are back on the bench, where the Minister of the Interior is an ex-Stormtrooper, and at least 250 police officials were charged with the murder of civilians during World War II.

Kaul is a stocky man of 55, tough and buoyant, who can get along on four hours sleep a night. He is a formidable opponent in the courtroom. Even when he loses a case, the victors pay for it in the relentless publicity to which he exposes them. His mission to Israel evoked a full-page attack in the **Rheinische Merkur,** Adenauer's mouthpiece, on Feb. 14.

Kaul told me: "In representing these Jewish citizens I am not only interested in personal retribution for them, I am interested in exposing the high-up Nazis who are running the government of West Germany."

THE REPTILE FUND: Dr. Servatius was hired by "officials who served in Hitler's ministry [of the interior]," according to the weekly Hamburg **Spiegel** of Oct. 19, 1960. The paper said the money to pay him was taken from the so-called "Reptile Fund," a special Federal appropriation, by Dr. Hans Globke, Bonn State Secretary and co-author of the anti-Semitic Nuremberg Laws. The **Spiegel** also charged that Servatius was hired not so much to defend Adolf Eichmann as to make sure that his defense did not hurt more important interests. This was reportedly imparted to Eichmann's brother Robert by persons close to Servatius.

Dr. Kaul will not now release the names of the citizens he has been asked to represent. One is a radio technician who was sent to Auschwitz with his parents at the age of ten. His mother was sent to the gas chambers, while he and his father were put to work in the I.G. Farben factory in Monnewitz, near Auschwitz. His father was killed in 1943.

Another was taken from Leipzig as a boy to the Warsaw Ghetto, where his father and mother were killed in the fighting. None of the group represented by Kaul was over 18 on VE Day, May 8, 1945.

BUSY MAN: Kaul had his own experiences in the concentration camps in Dachau and Lichtenburg before he escaped from Germany in 1937.

He made his way to Colombia, then to Panama, and finally to New Orleans in 1940, where he worked as a bus-boy. (He had been an assistant professor in the University in Berlin.) When the war started he was interned in an army camp in Kenedy, Texas. After the war he worked in a factory for a year to save enough for his fare back to Germany.

When in town he spends about two hours and handles 30 cases a day in his office. The rest of the time he is in court or traveling to court. He uses much of his traveling time to write novels, chronicles of trials and television plays. In the past year and a half he has written 11 sequences for a TV series on court fights. Since his return to Germany he has written six suspense novels and three books documenting famous cases of the Weimar Republic.

How the Pentagon peddles the cold war

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Arizona Civil Liberties Union
presents
Congressman James Roosevelt
speaking on
"The Proper Role of Congressional Investigating Committees"
Pioneer Hotel Ballroom
Tucson, Arizona
11 March 1961
8:00 P.M.

CHICAGO

Hear DR. WILLARD UPHAUS: "I WENT TO JAIL FOR FREEDOM," also Rabbi Jacob J. Weinstein, Prof. Kermit Eby, Frank Anglin & folk singers. Ausp: Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights.
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Compared & Contrasted"
FRI., MARCH 10, 8.P.M.
First Unitarian Church, 2936 W. 8 St.
Donation $1. Questions

Elect Delegates or Observers to the 11th Annual Conference for the **Protection of Foreign Born** to be held
SAT., MARCH 25, 10 a.m. at PARK MANOR, 607 S. Western Av., L.A. Keynote Speaker: **RUSS NIXON,** Natl. UE Legislative Director. Gala Conference Dinner to honor new officers at 6 p.m. **at PARK MANOR.** Advance Registration at the L.A. Committee office, 326 W. 3rd St., Room 318, L.A. 13, Calif.
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NEW YORK

YIP HARBURG'S Happiest, Newest Show, **"THE HAPPIEST GIRL IN THE WORLD"** starring Cyril Ritchard, music by Offenbach. GUARDIAN NIGHT, Wed., March 29. For information: ORegon 3-3800.

CONFERENCE on "The Great Debate: What Are Jewish Values?" at Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Ave. Sat., March 18, 10 a.m.-5 p.m. SPEAKERS: Elias Picheny (Staff Member, Natl. Jewish Welfare Board) on "Transmitting the Values of Our Jewish Culture"; Morris U. Schappes, (historian, editor) on "A Secular View of Jewish Life." Other participants: poet-novelist Yuri Suhl, Mrs. Mollie Ilson, president, Emma Lazarus Federation, David Flacks, educator. Registration: $2 delegates, $1 individuals. Write for Calls and Blanks to Jewish Currents, 22 E. 17th St., N.Y.C. 3. WA 4-5740.

FRIDAY, MARCH 24, 7:30 p.m.
at JUDSON HALL, 165 W. 57 St.
PROTEST MEETING against retention of Congressman Walters' man, Gen. Swing, in the Immigration & Naturalization Service. Main speaker, **JAMES ARONSON**, editor, National Guardian. Cont. 99c. Ausp: American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born

Celebrate **INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY** with the New York Provisional Organizing Committee.
SUN., MARCH 5, at 2:00 p.m.
CENTRAL PLAZA ANNEX, 40 E. 7 St.
Showing of Soviet film, **"MOTHER"**
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FRI., MARCH 10, 8:30 p.m.
Hotel Beacon, 75 St. & B'way, Silver Rm.
Questions & disc. Admission free
Ausp: West Side Community Club

Richard Gibson of the Liberation Committee for Africa & acting exec. secy of the Fair Play for Cuba Comm. will discuss, **"AFRICA'S MARCH TO FREEDOM" FRI., MARCH 3, 8:30 p.m., 116 University** Pl. (off Union Sq.
Ausp: Militant Labor Forum Don. 50c

SCOPE presents **ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN** back from 8-month tour of Socialist countries on **"YOUTH UNDER SOCIALISM"**
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Aus.: Philadelphia Worker Committee

FAIR PLAY FOR CUBA COMM. RALLY
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FRI., MARCH 10, 8 p.m. at PHILA. ETHICAL SOCIETY, 1906 S. Rittenhouse Sq. For information contact FPCC P.O. Box 7971, Phila. 1.

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JEWISH CURRENTS, March issue just off press. Highlights: Morris U. Schappes on the **CONGO LYNCHING** and **EICHMANN TRIAL; FOCUS ON BERNARD BARUCH** by Robert Arnow; **THE NEGRO IN THE CIVIL WAR;** A Calendar by Benjamin Quarles; **THE PURIM STORY; DISSENT ON BIKEL'S NEW SONGBOOK** by Ruth Rubin. Subscriptions $4 yearly ($4.50 outside USA). Single copies 40 cents. Jewish Currents, Dept. G, 22 East 17 St., N.Y. 3.

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THE GALLERY

SOPHOMORE JOHN CREIGHTON, 19, is an honor student at the University of California, but he was marked "F" in a military science course because he picketed in uniform against the compulsory Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) program at the college. A campus rally last month, sponsored by SLATE, a student group, protested Creighton's punishment. Prof. John Searle of the philosophy department told the rally that the issue was between the authoritarian requirements of the military and anti-authoritarian requirements of an academic institution. "As long as compulsory ROTC exists on this campus," he said, "it will be subverting the purposes and functions of the U. of California." . . . A voluntary ROTC program was approved last month by the student council of the U. of Washington . . . At the same university, Dr. Giovanni Costigan reported to police that he received abusive and threatening calls for a week after he criticized the film **Communism on the Map** when it was shown on the campus. Costigan said that he was not intimidated by the threats and he was scheduled to document inaccuracies in the film at a public meeting . . . The British Foreign Office is considering a sticky question: Is it cricket to use a diplomatic pouch as a laundry bag? The issue came to light when a Bournemouth laundry revealed that a naval officer in the British Embassy in Moscow regularly sends his dirty laundry home. After it is cleaned, it is returned to the officer via the secret diplomatic bag. In defense of the system, a Foreign Office official explained that Moscow laundries are impossible on stiff collars. Perhaps the World Health Organization can take up the subsidiary issue of whether the pouch's courier enjoys diplomatic immunity from the laundry's germs.

AN EASTER TOUR TO CUBA is planned by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee of Canada. Envious Yanquis can see the tourists at New York's Idlewild airport where they will board Cubana jets for Havana. U.S. citizens are banned from going to Cuba . . . A vitamin-enriched tour of Romania, Sweden and the U.S.S.R. from May 19 to June 10 will be led by Henry Marx. Tourists will have a stay with Dr. Ana Aslan in Romania for a first-hand observation of her H3 geriatric therapy. Further information is available from Marx at 84-25 Abingdon Road, Kew Gardens 15, N.Y. . . . Miss Ornella Brocchi, a nun in Rome, is planning a hotel-like mission with swimming pool, plush stores, luxurious apartments, a theater and other conveniences for wealthy sinners. Miss Brocchi said: "Everybody sees the needs of the poor . . . But nobody has ever considered the spiritual requirements of people with money. Because they appear to be happy, everybody thinks they are happy. The soul does not need poverty to be uplifted." . . . Stern's Department Store in New York boasted in an ad: "We're the first in the city with Atomic Energized seeds . . . We do have gamma ray treated flower and vegetable seeds. You **might** produce a strange variation in your own garden."

—**Robert E. Light**

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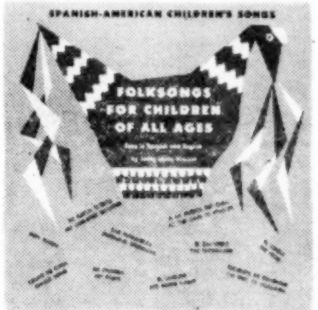

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the SPECTATOR

The censor enthroned

IN AUGUST, 1899, the **North American Review** printed an essay on censorship by George Bernard Shaw. Having despaired of efforts to end the institution at home, he wrote: "In England this article will be entirely wasted. . . . In America it may be useful in view of the likelihood of attempts to set up State Censorship in that country. In which case, O my friends across the sea, remember how the censorship works in England, and DON'T."

More than 60 years later, on Jan. 23, a five-to-four majority of the Supreme Court gave State Censorship its seal of approval. The Times Film Corp. had petitioned against the demand of the City of Chicago that every film to be exhibited there first pass muster before a board of censors prior to being licensed. The film in question was a movie version of the Mozart opera, **Don Giovanni.** The majority decision denying the petition was written by Justice Tom C. Clark. Opposed were Justices Black, Douglas, Brennan, and Chief Justice Warren who wrote the dissenting opinion.

The Jan. 23 decision has awakened not only the film companies, but radio and television broadcasters, book publishers and authors to the dangers of restriction by state and city censors. The movie industry has appealed for a rehearing. And for the first time the Motion Picture Assn. of America, the Natl. Assn. of Broadcasters, the American Book Publishers Council and the Authors League will join forces to fight censorship.

THE SUPREME COURT line-up on the issue is significant. It coincides with the positions often taken by the Court members on matters other than those of morality. In fact, morals were usually a secondary consideration in the centuries-old fight of the powers-that-be against the foes of the way things are. Every time our morals were protected, our liberties were taken away.

In 1737, censorship of the stage was introduced by the British Prime Minister, Walpole, to prevent Henry Fielding from exposing the corruption of the court and Parliament. In 1922, Will Hays, a former Republican campaign manager, accepted a $100,000 offer to head the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America, soon notorious as the Hays Office. He took the job eagerly, not only for the wage, but because Woodrow Wilson, running for re-election in 1916, had defeated his candidate with the help of a dangerously immoral peace film called **Civilization.** In this way, the practice of self-censorship, which persists to this day in the industry, could be used to stifle free expression far from the public eye.

SINCE THOSE in power want censorship to suppress perilous thoughts, though they claim to support it for purity and the children's sake, it is to their interest to have the system administered by the lowest common denominator of character or intellect. Justice Warren was very clear on the nature of the censor as an individual. He quoted John Milton commenting on "the impossibility of finding any man base enough to accept the office of censor and at the same time good enough to be allowed to perform its duties." The censor should be either a hypocrite, in bond to those who created his job, or someone guaranteed to be startled or enraged by any revelation of the facts of life.

Imagine such a person or group, not elected but appointed (in the present case by the police commissioner of Chicago), secure from public scrutiny of decisions or competence, prosecutor, judge and jury rolled into one—you have a picture of the unit entrusted with violating the First Amendment. A police sergeant attached to the Chicago board of censors was asked what he would consider improper in a film. He answered: "Coarse language or anything that would be derogatory to the government—propaganda."

Against the verdicts of such ignoramuses the exhibitor, who has not even committed an offense for which he can be judged in open court, has no recourse but prolonged litigation which might prove so costly that he will forgo the attempt to show his film. He is liable, instead, to press for prior self-censorship on future productions and scripts. For this he hires experts who will figure out how to get by the rules governing the exposure of breast and thigh and tell him how his hero may strangle six lady friends, but not inspire others to imitate him, for that is forbidden by the code. So much for morals.

HUMANITY and reality are harder to defend from the snoopers. In the past Chicago banned a newsreel of the Memorial Day massacre of steelworkers, Chaplin's **The Great Dictator,** all films criticizing Hitler Germany, and a scene from Disney's **Vanishing Prairie** depicting the birth of a buffalo calf. The pro-Loyalist **Spanish Earth** could not be shown in Pennsylvania. Ohio condemned the Soviet **Professor Mamlock** for stirring up "hatred and ill will" because it dealt with the Nazi persecution of Jews. Memphis banned **The Southerner** because its scenes of tenant farmer poverty "reflected on the South." In New York, the censors rejected a film on venereal disease sponsored by the American Social Hygiene Society. These are only a few instances in the long record of official hypocrisy and contempt for truth.

The greater the work of art, the keener the zest of the censor to nibble at it. "You would not believe," Tolstoy once wrote, "how from the very commencement of my activity that horrible Censor has tormented me! I wanted to write what I felt, but all the time it occurred to me that what I wrote would not be permitted, and involuntarily I had to abandon the work. I abandoned and went on abandoning, and meanwhile the years passed away."

—**Charles Humboldt**